

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
CU-02 DHA-02 ACDA-07 IO-13 TRSE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00
NSCE-00 SSO-00 /076 W
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O R 112140Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1450
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4647

DEPT FOR UER/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE: JULY 11

REF: BELGRADE 4565

SUMMARY: MORNING PLENARY OPENED WITH SOVIET PRESENTATION
ON ORGANIZATION OF MAIN MEETING, WHICH DID NOT DIFFER SUB-
STANTIALY FROM FORMER ELABORATIONS. SOVIET REP STRESSED
THAT THE PLENARY HAD TO BE THE PRIMARY, BASIC FORM OR
ORGANIZATION WHICH HAD "TO PASS LIKE A RED THREAD ALL THE
WAY THROUGH THE MAIN MEETING". SOVIET DID, HOWEVER, ACKNOW-
LEDGE THAT THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED (NNA) NON-
PAPER (REFTEL) SHOULD SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER
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DISCUSSIONS ON THESE MATTERS. AT INFORMAL AFTER-
NOON SESSION A NEW DRAFT OF NNA PAPER WAS CIRCULATED WHICH
INCORPORATED REVISIONS BUT NO CHANGES ON SUBSTANCE. END
SUMMARY.

1. REITERATING ALREADY FAMILIAR THEMES AND
PHRASEOLOGY, SOVIET RE (VORONTSOV) IN MORNING PRESENTATION,

PROPOSED THAT THE MAIN FORM OF WORK AT THE MAIN MEETING, ESPECIALLY THE THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, HAD TO TAKE PLACE IN PLENARY, SINCE ONLY IN SUCH A FORUM COULD A "FREE DEMOCRATIC EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" BE CONDUCTED IN A "CONSTRUCTIVE, BUSINESS-LIKE WAY". THE PLENARY, ACCORDING TO VORONTSOV, GAVE SUFFICIENT SCOPE AND TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS OF THE FINAL ACT. HOWEVER, IN DEFERENCE TO THE WISHES EXPRESSED BY OTHER DELS, VORONTSOV INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO APPROACH ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS WITH FLEXIBILITY, AND TO PROVIDE FOR FORMS OF WORK, OTHER THAN THE PLENARY.

2. VORONTSOV THEN OUTLINED THE ENVISAGED ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE PLENARY. THE "PUBLIC PART", HE CHARACTERIZED AS HAVING BEEN VIRTUALLY DECIDED UPON ALREADY. THE "CLOSED PART" IN HIS VIEW SHOULD BEGIN WITH A GENERAL DISCUSSION LASTING TWO WEEKS ON THE SITUATION IN EUROPE AFTER THE SIGNING OF THE FINAL ACT, INCLUDING AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CSCE PROCESS TO SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AND ON WAYS AND MEANS TO FURTHER SUCH PEACEFUL COOPERATION AND TO MAKE IT MORE PROGRESSIVE AND DURABLE. AFTER THIS GENERAL DISCUSSION, ACCORDING TO VORONTSOV'S OUTLINE, THE PLENARY WOULD CONSIDER ITEM 4 OF THE NNA NON-PAPER, A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, BEGINNING WITH A THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON QUESTIONS

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RELATING TO SECURITY IN EUROPE, SINCE IT COMES FIRST IN THE FINAL ACT (THIS WOULD LAST 2-3 WEEKS). THEN THE DISCUSSION WOULD PROCEED ALONG THE LINES ENVISAGED IN THE NNA NON-PAPER, FOR A PERIOD OF 3 WEEKS. DURING THIS TIME, THE PLENARY WOULD MEET NO LESS THAN 3 TIMES A WEEK.

3. WORKING GROUPS (RABOTCHI GRUPI), IN THE SOVIET PLAN, WOULD CARRY OUT STRICTLY AUXILIARY FUNCTIONS, UNDER STRICT GUIDANCE FROM THE PLENARY, TO WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE TO REPORT PERIODICALLY. THESE WORKING GROUPS WOULD BE SET UP AT AN UNSPECIFIED TIME AFTER THE GENERAL DISCUSSION BY THE PLENARY AND WOULD BE ASSIGNED SPECIFIC TASKS AND PURPOSES, PARTICULARLY THE CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS. SOVIET REP CLAIMED THAT HIS DEL HAD NO OBJECTION IN PRINCIPLE TO THE FIVE WORKING GROUPS ENVISAGED IN THE NNA NON-PAPER, HOWEVER HE EMPHASIZED THAT ALL SUCH GROUPS HAD TO BE INITIATED BY THE PLENARY WHEN THE NEED AROSE. EXACT DATES OR SCHEDULES COULD NOT BE FORMULATED BY THE PREPARATORY MEETING SINCE AT THIS TIME IT HAS NO PRECISE IDEA OF WHAT THE FALL PLENARY WILL DISCUSS. THE WORKING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4647

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

GROUPS, ACCORDING TO VORONTSOV, OUGHT TO MEET NO MORE THAN 2 OR 3 TIMES A WEEK FOR 4 WEEKS, NOT 6 WEEKS AS SOME OTHER DELS HAD SUGGESTED. VORONTSOV INDICATED THAT THE SMALLER SIZE OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION COMPARED TO WHAT IT HAD BEEN AT GENEVA WOULD MAKE PROPER COORDINATION OF WORK IN THE WORKING GROUPS FOR A PERIOD OF 6 WEEKS, UNTENABLE. (NOTE: SOVIET DEL MEMBER KONDRASHOV, IN CONVERSATION WITH DELOFF INDICATED THAT SOVIET DEL AT MAIN MEETING WOULD BE ABOUT 35.)

4. DEFERRING A DETAILED DISCUSSION OF TIME AND DURATION TO A LATER TIME, VORONTSOV DID EMPHASIZE THAT THE WORKING GROUPS WOULD HAVE TO END THEIR DELIBERATIONS AT LEAST 2 WEEKS BEFORE THE OFFICIAL CLOSE OF THE MEETING IN ORDER TO
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GIVE THE PLENARY AN OPPORTUNITY TO AGREE ON A CONCLUDING

DOCUMENT. IN CONCLUSION VORONTSOV STATED THAT HIS DEL
WOULD CONTINUE TO STUDY THE NNA PAPER WHICH, HE FELT, COULD
"SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS," SINCE THE
SOVIET DEL SOUGHT "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONCLUSIONS"
MADE "IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT AND WITH GOODWILL".
(COMMENT: ALTHOUGH VORONTSOV'S OUTLINE DOES NOT DIVERGE
IN SUBSTANCE FROM PREVIOUS SOVIET POSITIONS ON
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE, HIS EMPHASIS ON FLEXIBILITY AND
"MUTUALLY-ACCEPTEABLE CONDITIONS" AS WELL AS HIS WILLING-
NESS TO USE THE NNA NON-PAPER AS THE PRIMARY WORKING DOCU-
MENT, WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE THE SOVIET POSITIONS ARE SOME-
WHAT FLEXIBLE. END COMMENT)

5. SOVIET REP WAS SUPPORTED (NOT SUPRISINGLY)
BY CZECH REP WHO OUTLINED TWO DISTINCT, OPPOSING
TRENDS WHICH HE SAW EMERGING AT THE MEETING ON ORGANIZA-
TIONAL MATTERS: THOSE WHO SUPPORTED SOVIET POSITION
EMPHASIZING PLENARY AND THOSE WHO EMPHASIZED WORKING
GROUPS. DUTCH REP REFUTED THIS STRICT DIVISION CLAIMING
THAT MOST DELS ACCEPTED A COMBINATION OF PLENARIES AND WORK-
ING GROUPS SINCE BOTH ARE COMPLEMENTARY. HE ALSO
ASKED SOVIET REP TO CLARIFY WHAT WAS MEANT BY GENERAL
DISCUSSION SINCE, AS FORMULATED, IT SEEMED SUPERFLUOUS IN
LIGHT OF OPENING STATEMENTS OF FIRST TWO WEEKS
OF MAIN MEETING. FRG REP, CLAIMING TO SEE MORE OPPORTUNITY
FOR COMPROMISE IN VORONTSOV'S LINE THAN HE HAD BEFORE, NOTED
THAT BOTH SIDES SEEMED GRADUALLY TO BE REACHING A CONSENSUS.

6. ROMANIAN REP (LIPATTI) OUTLINED HIS ORGANIZATIONAL
SCHEME WHICH IS FOUNDED ON THE IDEA THAT THE ORGANIZATION
OF THE MAIN MEETING HAS TO BE FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ADAPT
ITSELF TO THE NEEDS OF THE MEETING. ATTEMPTING TO BALANCE
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THE MAIN POINTS OF BOTH THE SOVIET AND THE NNA PAPERS,
LIPATTI CHARACTERIZED THE PLENARY AS THE "POLITICAL AGENCY
ABOVE ALL" WHICH WOULD BE EMPOWERED LJ DISCUSS ALL MATTERS
OF SUBSTANCE, BUT WHICH WOULD YIELD TO SUBSIDIARY GROUPS
FOR BOTH "A DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE PAST AND THE SEARCH
FOR THE FUTURE. IN THE ROMANIAN SCHEME THE PLENARY WOULD
PLAN THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SUBSIDIARY WORKING GROUPS,
FOLLOW THEM, AND GATHER THEIR RESULTS; HOWEVER THESE
WORKING GROUPS WOULD OF NECESSITY HAVE CERTAIN LIMITED
AUTONOMY BORNE OF THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF THEIR TASK.

7. SWISS REP POINTED OUT THAT IF SOVIET FORMULATION OF
ORGANIZATION WERE FOLLOWED, RELYING SOLELY ON PLENARY,
THE MAIN MEETING WOULD TAKE SIX MONTHS. HE ALSO STRESSED
THAT BELGRADE SHOULD BE A MODEL FOR FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MEET-
INGS SO THAT AFTER BELGRADE PREPARATORY MEETINGS WOULD NOT

BE NEEDED.

8. AUSTRIAN REP SUPPORTED COMMENTS OF SWISS AND DUTCH
REP ON WORKING GROUPS,
ALSO SUPPORTED SOVIET LINES
THAT
PLENARY SHOULD CONTINUE THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE MAIN MEETING
IN ORDER TO GUIDE ITS WORK. HE STRESSED HOWEVER THAT WORKING
GROUPS SHOULD BEGIN THEIR WORK IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OPEN-
INGPLENARY WITHOUT HAVING TO WAIT FOR THE SPECIFIC DIREC-
TION OF THE PLENARY.

9. POLISH REP, NOTING THAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE DUE TO
SOVIET FLEXIBILITY AS WELL AS THE GENERALLY SHARED POLITICAL
WILL TO GO AHEAD, PROPOSED THAT THE MEETING GO IMMEDIATELY
INTO A DRAFTING SESSION. HE SUPPORTED THE SOVIET LINE THAT
THE NNA NON-PAPER WAS A GOOD BASIS FOR THIS WORK. URGING
PROGRESS, POLISH REP OBSERVED THAT IF THE DELEGATES DESIRED
TO FINISH THE MAIN MEETING BY DECEMBER 15, IT WOULD BE WISE
FOR THEM TO COMPLETE THE PREPARATORY PART BEFORE AUGUST 1.
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HE SUGGESTED JULY 20 AS A REALISTIC DATE FOR COMPLE-
TION. REGARDING WORKING GROUPS, HE NOTED
THAT UNTIL THE MEETING HAD DISCUSSED THE "MAIN AIMS" OF
THE MAIN MEETING, HIS DELEGATION COULD NOT COMMIT ITSELF
ON THE PRECISE NATURE OF ANY PROPOSED WORKING GROUPS.
IN HIS WORDS "OUR DELEGATION NEEDS MORE CLARITY ON WHAT WE
WANT TO ACHIEVE AT THE MAIN MEETING, BEFORE WE CAN AGREE
TO WORKING GROUPS." (COMMENT: DOBROSIELSKI'S REMARK
IS AMBIGUOUS ENOUGH TO BE TAKEN A VARIETY OF WAYS. HOWEVER,
THE MOST OBVIOUS OF THESE IS THAT THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES
MAY USE "POLITICAL CONCEPT" I.E. THE PLEDGE OF CONSTRUCTIVE-
POSITIVE SPIRIT AND ATMOSPHERE FOR THE MAIN MEETING, AS
LEVERAGE FOR CONCESSIONS ON NNA CONCEPTION OF WORKING GROUPS.
SOVIET PRIVATELY SAID THAT THIS SHOULD NOTIOE TAKEN
SERIOUSLY. END COMMENT)

10. MEETING ENDED WITH AGREEMENT TO MEET INFORMALLY IN
AFTERNOON TO GO OVER NEW DRAFT OF NNA PAPER. THIS WAS NOT
TO BE A FORMAL DRAFTING SESSION, BUT RATHER AN INFORMAL
STOCK-TAKING OF POSITIONS, (
HILIGHTS OF INFORMAL MEET-
ING BY SEPTTEL).
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Message Attributes

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